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CIA-RDP75-00001R000300020005-8

WHY YALE CHAPLAIN RODE: CHRISTIANS CAN'T BE OUTSIDE

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The Reverend William Sloane Coffin Jr., 36, nephew of the famous Protestant theologian, Henry Sloane Coffin, is chaplain of Yale University. A World War II veteran, he is a member of the Peace Corps Advisory Council. Last week he joined three white theology professors and three Negro students in taking a Freedom Ride. They were arrested in Montgomery, Ala. and later released on bail. Here is his own story of why he took the trip.

by WILLIAM SLOANE COFFIN Jr.
As told to LIFE Correspondent Ronald Bailey

Many people in the South have criticized the Freedom Riders as "outsiders" who went there to stir up trouble. But if you're an American and a Christian you can't be an outsider on racial discrimination, whether practiced in the North or in the South. Discrimination has always been immoral and now, as it undermines U.S. foreign policy, it is a matter of national concern, not of local mores. Here was a group of fellow Americans striving for rights that were legally and morally theirs. As Christians and Americans we couldn't not go on the Freedom Ride. On this issue all Americans are insiders.

By joining the Freedom Riders we hoped to dramatize the fact that this is not just a student movement. We felt that our being university educators might help encourage the sea of silent moderates in the South to raise their voices. Without doubt the moderates have been derelict. I've heard it said that 60% of white Southerners take a neutral attitude on the race question. But only the extremists are heard. As always, it has been the listless, not the lawless, who are the deciding factor.

Before going south we attempted to recruit several southern professors sympathetic to integration, but they argued

that their participation would destroy their long-range working relationships in the South. We realize southern whites have special problems, but we don't think time is going to cure everything. Time is neutral. What counts is how you use it. Since the Supreme Court school desegregation ruling in 1954 extremist whites have been making more effective use of time than the moderates. Now, when the Russians are offering housing for African U.N. delegates in New York, it is clear that time is running out.

Many responsible people say we were wrong for continuing our trip in the face of Attorney General Kennedy's plea for a "cooling-off period" and return to "normalcy." But why should Negroes always be asked to make the concessions? Everywhere that segregation is practiced normalcy means continued injustice. A cooling-off period will be effective only if it is backed by the promise of a fairer future for the Negro. Without this promise there will only be more violence, since the mob is given the determining vote.

We realize that President Kennedy will be embarrassed abroad by these incidents but, as the Reverend Ralph Abernathy put it, "We Negroes have been embarrassed all our lives." At least let's be clear about what is embarrassing the President. Is it the demand by Negroes that they be treated as equal citizens, or is it the refusal of white extremists to grant them their constitutional rights? I think the U.S. is going to be continually embarrassed until it desegregates completely.

Al Capone used to say, "We don't want no trouble." This is always the sentiment of those who want peace at any price—so long as they have the peace and someone else pays the price.

Would we do it again? Yes. Every man must do finally what he believes is right.

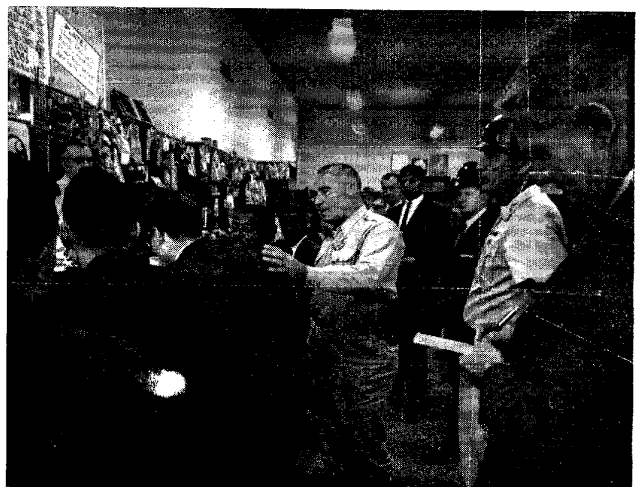
COFFIN'S GOOD WORKS. The Yale chaplain who rode a Freedom bus stands by Guinea village where he served in 1960 Operation Crossroads.



CAMPUS RALLY SPEAKER. At pre-bus ride meeting at Yale Coffin criticized southern ministers for failing to support Freedom Riders.



BUS STATION TEST. Coffin smokes as he awaits service with riders at Montgomery bus depot. Alabama law forbids whites, Negroes to eat at counter together but earlier group of riders was served without incident.



HAND OF THE LAW. Sheriff Mac Butler taps Coffin as one of riders to be arrested for "breach of peace and unlawful assembly." Coffin and six others who were arrested were released after posting \$1,000 bond.

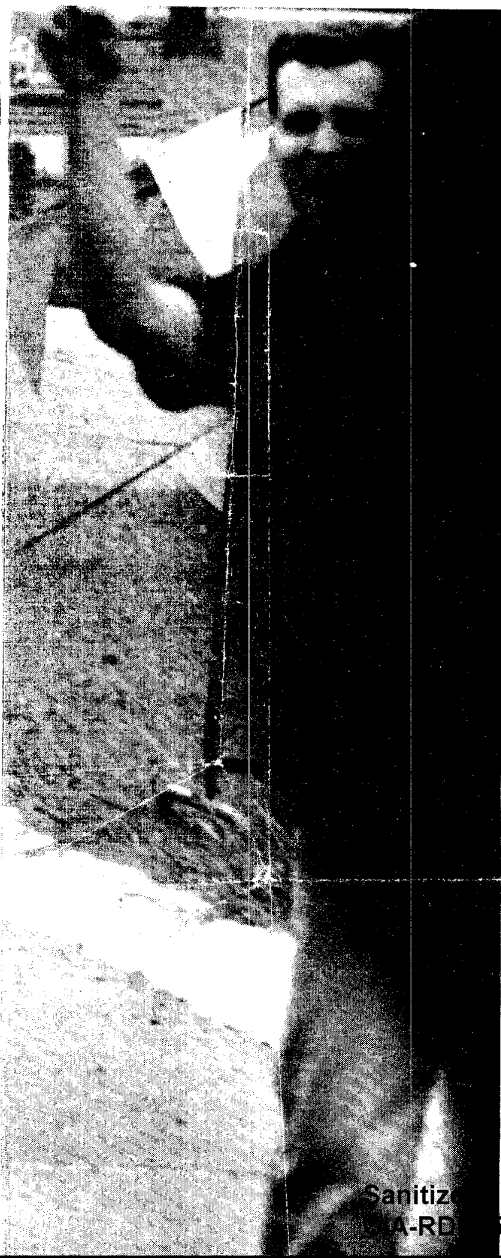
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RING OF PROTECTION. With bayonets fixed, Alabama Guardsmen circle bus during reconnaissance stop made near Mississippi border to plan changing of guard.

ARREST IN JACKSON. Filing into police wagon, riders go to jail after refusing to leave waiting room. Negroes and whites rode to jail together but were put in segregated cells.



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**THE CHAPLAIN
IN CHAPEL
ON YALE CAMPUS**

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LIFE on the Newsfronts of the World

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J.F.K. shoots for Vienna, via the moon

Before President Kennedy could walk up to this week's Paris meeting with Charles de Gaulle and the Vienna summit with Nikita Khrushchev, he had a vital—and delicate—task to perform. Cuba and Laos had contributed to a growing impression abroad of America floundering. Kennedy's job was to rephrase a statement of firm purpose without nullifying the point of the summit with too much belligerence. The means he chose was an extraordinary State of the Union message to a joint session of Congress. In it he unfolded a far-reaching, multi-billion package of new and beefed-up programs for the defense and expansion of "the freedom doctrine."

Billions for space

The biggest news in the long list of proposals was a challenge to the nation to underwrite "a clearly leading role in space achievement which, in many ways, may hold the key to our future on earth." He noted that "we have never made the national decisions or marshaled the national resources for leadership in the space field," and proposed a program to put the U.S. on the moon ahead of Russia. The initial outlay would be \$7 to \$9 bil-

lion, spread out over the next five years, but the eventual total might reach \$40 billion. "I believe we should go to the moon," he said, but he clearly left it to Congress and the American people to think about his proposition and to decide yea or nay before undertaking such "a major national commitment" over such a long period of time.

Also with urgency he outlined half a billion in new foreign aid proposals, and new appropriations for the United States Information Agency to combat a vast Communist propaganda assault already underway in Latin America. He called for a strengthening of limited warfare capability through drastic reorganization of the Army and its reserve divisions and a strengthened Marine Corps. He was more forthright than President Eisenhower in facing the need for a reorganized, vastly improved civil defense program—"insurance for the civilian population." He proposed a national census of possible existing fallout shelters, requirements for shelters in buildings constructed in future with federal funds and such incentives as matching grants to get shelters into as many other buildings as possible.

Challenge to face

As congressmen were quick to point out, the President gave few specifics on how to finance these vast undertakings beyond a mention of closing tax loopholes, erasing the postal

deficit and putting the federal highway system on a pay-as-you-go basis. The decision to pay the price and bear the burden would be up to Congress. But he had an important, healthy warning for industry and labor against "unjustified price and wage increases" as the U.S. pulled out of its recession. "These we cannot afford."

The big decision on space would need some thinking through, but by proposing it Kennedy had shown his own willingness to face "the extraordinary challenge . . . of extraordinary times." The extraordinary times are here and the President's resolve was needed for the encounters with DeGaulle and Khrushchev.

Without counting in the new Kennedy increases, Washington analysts got figuring the sizable effect the present \$42 billion annual defense budget has on the U.S. body economic. Roughly \$21 billion goes for procurement of goods and hardware, over \$15 billion of it among the 100 biggest corporations, and roughly half that amount among a mere 10 companies. Almost half the contracts are awarded on a cost-plus fixed-fee basis, without competitive bids. The \$11 billion Defense Department payroll supports over 3.5 million people, including 990,000 civilians. Additionally, an estimated 6.5 to 7.5 million people—10% of the entire U.S. labor force—depends in one way or another on defense spending for its livelihood.

Tractors: good deed or bad deal?

While President Kennedy asked new millions for defense, Cuban dictator Fidel Castro made his own cynical demand for tribute. Recalling that Spain once swapped Napoleon's soldiers for pigs, he told a Cuban rally "we will be a bit more refined. We will exchange imperialist soldiers for tractors." Instead of Napoleon the world recalled the Nazis' brutal offer of Jews for trucks. But in the confused aftermath of the Cuban defeat the U.S. public found itself in an unprecedented battle of conscience—weighing its own responsibility for the fate of the prisoners against the ugly prospect of knuckling under to international blackmail.

Free men supported

When spontaneous offers of help began reaching Washington the President decided to handle the awkward situation through a private citizens' committee, recruited Eleanor Roosevelt, Walter Reuther and Milton Eisenhower to head the group. The committee picked up Castro's challenge, fired off a telegram offering to raise the estimated \$15 million needed for 500 tractors "as proof that free men will not desert those who risked all for what they thought was right." Castro dispatched 10 of the prisoners to Washington to negotiate on behalf of the captured 1,200. He also explained that the deal was not an "exchange" but indemnification for damages suffered in the abortive April 17 invasion.

Blackmail scorned

The sense of dilemma dampened any public outpouring of funds, even though the President stepped forward with a graceful statement that "all who fight for freedom—particularly in this hemisphere—are our brothers." Republican big guns, more or less muzzled since the Cuban fiasco, finally found a comfortable range. Senate and House G.O.P.

LIFE lines

A DAM DAMNED

One of the most cherished dreams of Soviet scientists is to make the weather conform to the party line. In 1959 Engineer P. M. Borisov put forward an ambitious plan to build a 46-mile dam across the Bering Strait between Siberia and Alaska (LIFE, Nov. 14). Powerful pumps in the dam would pull cold water from the Arctic Ocean into the Pacific. On the other side of the pole, Borisov reasoned, this would swell the currents flowing north from the Atlantic and warm the icy shore lines of the Arctic. Fortunately Comrade Borisov did not get his way. The English journal *Nature* reports that he has been under attack by his colleague D. A. Drogaitzev, whose detailed calculations indicate that the dam would have very damning

consequences for the weather of the entire northern hemisphere. Among the side effects: the Sahara would gradually move northward until it settled across continental Europe—including Russia.

TOP BRASS CLASS

"Can you communicate with your engineers and scientists on technical subjects without loss of meaning? Do you delay decisions because you feel a lack of confidence?" The University of California at Los Angeles thus put its finger on a senior executive's problem of keeping up with science, as it set out to recruit top brass for a six-week-long summer session cram course in mathematics and modern technical concepts. Classes will be held in a plush country inn, complete with golf course, tennis courts and riding trails—and a telephone connection so the boss can keep in touch.

CATS IN THE CRYPT

In Melbourne, Anglican Dean Barton Babbage took official cognizance of cats down under. In flickering candlelight he opened up an after-vepers espresso joint in the gloomy crypt beneath Saint Paul's Cathedral. "Any crazy cat," he said, "is welcome to creep down to our crypt for coffee and crumpets. Even squares are welcome if they dig cathedral coffeeville."

ZIP TRIP

Time was when the nation had months to cherish a feat of aerial derring-do. No more. Marking the 34th anniversary of Charles Lindbergh's nonstop 33½-hour flight from New York to Paris, a Strategic Air Command B-58 jet went the route in 3 hours 19 minutes 41 seconds. Average speed: 1,050 mph. In the same week the rocket-

powered North American X-15 set a record that made old-fashioned jets feel like the *Spirit of St. Louis*: 3,370 mph or just short of a mile a second.

LAST RIGHTS

Along with a right to life and liberty, a man should also have a right to decide how he will be buried. Or so believe thousands who, in the name of "simplicity and dignity," are joining the nonprofit "memorial associations," already thriving in Seattle, New York, Cleveland, San Francisco and Chicago. Members join the associations by paying a small membership fee and filling out forms which declare their last wishes: cremation, burial, post mortem, donation to medical research, type of religious service, music and so on.

Each member carries a wallet card which specifies that burial instructions are on file at the memorial asso-